

Mr. Chairman & Gentlemen -

Upon no previous occasion on which it has fallen to my lot to take a leading part in a debate in this room has the task which awaited me been anything like so difficult as the one which presents itself to me to-night; & if, in spite of all the earnestness which has accompanied my investigation of the question, I fail to acquit myself in regard to it in a manner satisfactory to those who feel therein

all interest equal to mine now, I
shall nevertheless, I believe, be leniently
criticised by all who have ~~attempted~~
attempted to grasp those arguments
by which alone the proper answer
thereto is to be arrived at. To many
of those now listening to me, who, from
former attendances at debates in
this place, know my democratic
sentiments it probably affords
surprise to find me leaving an
attack upon the teaching of one
who throughout his life emphat-

-ically proclaimed himself a
Democrat & laboured constantly to
secure additional triumphs for
Democracy. I wish therefore to say,
before proceeding further, that it is
not ~~against~~ the practical or actual
results which wished his writings
to contribute to that I intend to
protest against to-night. Of nearly
every alteration in our social or
political habits & institutions which
will desired to be introduced I
think I may safely say that their

introduction would be to me as
much as to my friend Mr. May a
matter of mixed satisfaction.
Now I permit myself to pass
on to what I have to say against
what Mr. H. has written without
expressing my high admiration
of his personal career. Of no English
man of the present generation with
whose career I am at all acquainted
could I more ~~readily~~ ^{readily} affirm that
all he did was prompted by an
earnest desire to benefit his own

& every succeeding generation. But
Sir, I am of opinion that, owing to the
limitations under which the hu-
man intellect must always labour,
nobility of purpose & personal
purity of conduct may be associ-
ated with, & even dominated by
conceptions of man's relations to
existence, which if accepted by all
men would lead many ultimately
into paths very dissident from
that in which the original pro-
pounder of those conceptions is

or may have been accustomed to
read. An example of such a com-
bination of a noble life & a very
unsatisfactory creed is in my
judgement afforded to us in the
case of the late John Stuart Mill;
& it is only ~~of~~ ^{against} the foundation ~~upon~~
which he ~~sought~~ offered to the world
as a sufficient guide ^{for} to conduct ~~the~~
& not ~~against~~ any line of conduct of
which Mill himself would have
approved that I am about to
assert.

As a practical & active

Democrat. - I will ~~present~~^{is} to me a
hero for all time; but while I see
in him one striving earnestly
at all times to advance the so-
vereignty of democratic principles
I see no him also a member of a
school of thinkers who reject that
which appears to me the true &
only irrefragable justification of
~~Democracy~~ Democracy & substitute
for that justification, it an ar-
gument inadequate & uncertain.
That school I describe as the

Materialistic Militarismth through-
out his life. Mill strongly objected
to be ranged under any party
or sectarian name; but since
terms of some sort are requisite
to distinguish the various schools
of thought around us, I must
be allowed to speak of Mill as a
member of the school I have just
named.

To the simple title of Militarismth
Mill would not have objected in-
as much as it is to his own use of

the word as designating his own
principles that the introduction
of it into the English language is
to be traced. But of my right to
apply to his teaching the term
Materialistic I am perhaps called
upon to produce some evidence.
The evidence upon this point with
which I am prepared is his con-
-fessed sympathy with the
Positiv Philosophy of Auguste
Comte expressed in one of his own
articles in the Westminster Review.

That Philosophy affirms that all
men can ever know or be benefited
by the study of, is invariably con-
joined to the mere phenomena of
existence, their co-appearances, their
succession & association, & that of
the moving & sustaining ^{power} ~~force~~
witnessed to by these phenomena
& of the end of man's creation, or
if indeed there is any necessary
end in regard to him nothing
we can be known. That we
are born capable of pleasure & of

gain, surrounded with numerous
potential ministrations to both;
that we remain for a limited period
so surrounded & there in the midst
of our surroundings fade away.
That of any power higher than
ourselves, sympathising with our
experience & having any intentions
towards us, there is no evidence
whatever before us. That since how
& why the Universe came into
existence, & what it is accomplish-
ing, can never be discovered by

us, therefore we have no reason
to believe that we have any im-
-portant relations to those mys-
-teries & that our destiny is ful-
-filled when we endeavour to
make ourselves as comfortable as
possible while on the earth &
to lengthen out to the farthest
limit compatible with enjoyment,
our stay upon it. This I believe
is a fair summary of the teach-
-ings of the Positive Philosophy to
the extent to which I will ac-

cepted it. Comte, the high priest
of Positivism, very much elaborated
these assertions, deducing from them
a complete social, & political, &
religious polity; but to many of
his elaborations & deductions Mill
did not adhere. To the religion of
Comte, the worship of Humanity,
Mill never formally assented, yet
a few weeks before his death he
said to his friend Mr. Morley
that he believed the future re-
ligion of the world would admit

Substantially to a recognition
of the solidarity of The Human
Race as the ~~only~~ ^{true foundation of} Ethics.

~~In the Teaching~~ The Positive
Philosophy, manifestly induces
Militarism~~ism~~. Some Philosophers,
however, have held an Militarism
which they grounded on a belief
in a Omnipotent Creator, accepting
Military as the index only of con-
duct in harmony with The Creator's
will. Yet no such Theistic Ar-
gument was propounded by Smith

as the ~~the~~ foundation of his Utilitarianism, a proceeding indeed incompatible with his adherence to Positivism. Urged by him upon the acceptance of the world as a philosophy harmonising with the teaching of Christ, the Utilitarianism of Mill remains after all an argument ~~by~~ disproved by Positivist-fidelities. Therefore I claim the right to discuss the teaching of Mill in all its ethical & sociological aspects

as Materialistic Utilitarianism;
* The substance of it I approve to be
this — Every man born into
life has an equal right with
every other man to happiness,
that is, the gratification or sat-
isfaction of all his tastes & ap-
petites. Whatever, therefore, tends
to produce happiness for him,
to satisfy his tastes & appetites,
is a proper thing for every man
to do; all to be expected or to be
asked of him in the way of

restraining from the assiduous pur-
suit of whatever pleases him, is
that he pursue it at all times
& under all circumstances in
~~such~~ a way ^{that} ~~that~~ it does not
touch on or diminish the
happiness of any of his fellow
men. I think, it will be seen,
has no recognition in such
teaching as this. Of dogmatic
assertion, both private & public we
are accustomed to speak contemptuously
but it is nevertheless true, that

Neither God nor Spirit held any
essential place in the teaching
of either of them. And any teach-
ing, or system of Philosophy which
leaves the question of the existence,
or non-existence of a God, of a
purposing & sympathizing
Creator, altogether outside, ^{it} as one
which can be quite safely ne-
glected by humanity is not
in my estimation, other than
a constructive Atheism, & not
at all conducive to man's true

progress upon earth.

Neither politically nor mo-
rally ~~can~~ ^{can} ~~does~~ ^{contribute} Atheism ~~power~~ ^{to} ~~benefit~~
~~the world, because~~ to the improve-
ment of the world, because it
does not necessarily induce ^{either} De-
mocracy or Ethics. That Democracy
is the fountain of the highest so-
cial benefits to man - the leader
of the affirmative, as well as many
others whom I see around me,
believe as firmly as myself. To
him then & to them I say that

Hill's Teaching is to be trusted
by us, because he does not provide
for us the best & only unfrag-
-able arguments in favour of the
cause whose triumph we all so
earnestly desire. Democracy, ac-
-cepted by the world as that re-
-gime which above all others in-
-dures its receipt, must be so ac-
-cepted, either because it is that
regime which above all others
satisfies the demands of some
accepted standard, or as the

regime which secures to all men
the greatest possible immunity from
avoidable misadventures & injuries.
It is as promising the latter re-
sult that Mill & all Political
Utilitarians espouse Democracy.
Like all other Ethical & Political
Philosophers, Utilitarians feel
themselves constrained to discover
& prescribe some sort of regulating
authority for human conduct.
Like all thus engaged in the
same discovery, they also have to

commence their speculations with
a recognition of the fact & of the
surrounding conditions of human
existence on this earth. The Demo-
cratic School of Philosophy which
seeks a sanction for its precepts
other than the one recognised by
Positivists. Believes that ^{the} true
theory of human life, the true
solution of the problem of human
experience, is to be discovered only
by accepting the fact of our exis-
tence here as the result of an

existence & an intention anterior
to ourselves — That is to the pos-
-^apose of a Creator respecting us.
~~The Church to which.~~ The Positivists
refuse to find an explanation of
Man's presence on the earth, or a
sanction for their Ethics, in any
fact anterior to Man. Man
being here, they say, & capable
while here of ~~experiencing~~ both
pleasure & pain, his only concern
is to procure as much as possible
of the former & to escape as much

as possible of the latter. The only
regulation therefore, of human
conduct which we require to recog-
-nize, is the increase of human
happiness & the diminution of hu-
-man pain. Whatever tends there-
-fore to make us happy, according
to our own estimation of what
constitutes our happiness, so long
as it does not diminish the mea-
-sure of another's self-considered
happiness, that, we are quite
justified in doing. Such a

doctrine does not, I affirm, in its
political application necessitate
Democracy — Does not necessarily
call for the social & political changes
which will be common with the
majority of ourselves, desirous to see
effected. He, & his associates ad-
-vocated Democratic reforms ^{on}
the ground of individual rights.
— That is, the right of each in-
-dividual to all the happiness he
can experience compatible with
the same reservation for others;

& they therefore - valued the accumulated experience of ~~the~~ Society only as it secured additional comforts to the individual. Thus the Individual is the centre of Mill's Social & Political system; & Society is for them nothing more than an aggregate of individuals not impinged by any common view superior to the separate interest of ~~the~~ each of its constituent units. It follows therefore, that an organized Despotism - which would

devote its energies directly & exclu-
sively to adding to the material
comforts of all under it. It would be
a government justified by the
Utilitarian doctrine; & hence it
would appear, that it is only their
despair of the advent of such a
Despotism, which causes Utilit-
arians to become Democrats.

Institute of all belief in a collective
aim & of a collective duty for
society. Their politics are not the
concomitants
~~of~~ of faith in the essential

superiority of army
force of government as aiding more
than any other in the achievement
of ^{such an} ~~that~~ aim, but only the adjuncts
of position enabling in the essential
righteousness of ^{any} facts or position
attainable by man.

In the same way it follows
that many of the facts in social
life which Dr. Mill & his followers
would describe as evil, are not es-
sentially so, but only evil so far
as the victims of them feel them
to be painful or inconvenient.

And therefore a much lower grade
of civilization. as we would view
it, than that at which we have as-
cended, & including notions of moral
purity, very inferior, as we would
say, to ours in which the gratifi-
cation of the appetites in the high-
est degree compatible with the
exemption from painful conse-
quences was the pursuit of every
one. would be a state no nothing
essentially & truly superior to any
other. Such ~~was~~ a system recog-

Arises in "Excellence," except one sy-
mphonious with more gratifications
of human capabilities of pleasure.

And now comes the question
— What objection is there to a
doctrine which in the field of
Politics, accepts Democracy only
in despair of a benevolent Repu-
blicanism & in the field of Morals, that
system of Ethics which provides
primarily for the accumulation
of the necessary conditions of plea-
sure? Answer: Because it denies

What the past career of humanity
demonstrates to the our intelligence,
viz, a law of progress controlling
all human experience & efforts
on this earth. Progress, definite
& continuous, manifests itself
throughout the history of our race;
& the constant recurrence of any
phenomenon, physical or moral,
or any abiding tendency in things
social or political, is spoken of
by positivists themselves as the
result of Law. A Law of progress

Then we are entitled to assert to be
inseparably associated with human
life & effort. This progress, this on-
ward tendency of humanity
must have somewhere a goal;
& hence the standard by which
all human actions, all human
achievements, & all human or-
ganizations are to be judged, is
not the effect upon either the in-
dividual or the aggregate happiness
in the time being, but the help ^{they}
afford to humanity to reach that

goal.

Utilitarians will tell us that they also believe in progress & recognize its presence in the history of the world. But they understand by "Progress" merely an increase of the opportunities & instruments of pleasure. But such an interpretation of the word progress is not consistent with facts. Time has developed new forms & new opportunities of pain, & I doubt if the sum of human happiness ac-

according to the Utilitarian inter-
pretation of the word, has ^{ever} increased
with the advance of time. Neither
does human nature as the cen-
turies revolve expand into any-
thing holier, more exalted, or more
noble, than it appeared in the
saints & heroes of the race two
thousand years ago. Nevertheless
in the midst of abiding imper-
fection & our returning pains,
achievements, which mean of all
schools for one season or another

admit to be beneficial, are accom-
plished. From such constantly
recurring phenomena we infer a
law of progress prepared to human
life by a Power able to control, &
to direct all human effort. That
law we say is the law of the hu-
man species, & in the law of the
species is to be found that of the
individual, whose right to a mea-
sure of happiness is no criterion
for him by which to live, but
whose right to share in, & whose

whose welfare is inseparably linked
with that of the remaining mem-
bers of the body. But he derives
from such a conception of the in-
dividuals relations to society no
higher sanction for his Ethics, so
long as he ignores ~~the~~ the existence
of some source of union between
society & the individual superior
to both in which ^{is found} the reason of the
of man's creation & destinies.

In the absence of the recognition
of such a seat of sovereignty, pro-

gress remains for Utilitarians only
an accumulation of pleasing ex-
periences. But the progress visible
in the improvement of the insti-
-tutions, manners, & implements
of mankind provides, according
to the conception of progress which
I trust advocate, only a superior
platform for the individual where-
-on he is not to sit down & enjoy
himself with an increased num-
-ber of the instruments of pleasure,
but to continue to work for the

realization of the collection view,
finding his gain in his share
of labor devoted to that end. Such
^{has been}
~~but~~ the gain of those ~~who~~ is every
age "Who have loved, & wrought, &
sorrowed, but not sinned" accom-
-panying joyfully chains, exile,
poverty, & death—whenever these
have been the penalty of follow-
-ing steadily the path on which
the sovereign voice of conscience had
directed them. It is in instances
— The ~~consequences~~ of the

of ~~this~~ conduct such as theirs & only
thence that I see the loss of human
progress reciprocally & testimony borne
to a sanction of such conduct right-
-es which Militarism would have
us deem sufficient.

The concomitants of the
belief in the law of progress of
which I have spoken are among
the things which Dr. Smith as an
adherent of Positivism considered
outside ^{the} sphere of human specula-
-tion. In the operation of that law

I read the intentions of a Benificent
Creator. The successive experiences
& achievements of Humanity are to
me witnesses of His controlling
interest in the things He has
created & reputations periodically
renewed of the constructive ^{attainment}
of Positivism.

My testimony of another
kind to the Creator's presence in
His Universe is Positivism itself
confessedly accorded. In the affections
of the human heart the Positivist

Philosophy recognises with Christ-
-anity the crown of human life;
& that they have nourishment-
& a field of exercise, apart from
such of either as social accident
may, or may not provide for
them, it declares to be the in-
-dispensable condition of human
satisfaction. Therefore it makes
for itself an idol out of a collec-
-tion & solidified humanity-
which it offers to its disciples as an
~~object~~ substitute for him on whom

The hopes & confidences of multitudes
Millions have been fixed. In support
of making this newly instituted duty
The foundation of his Ethical System
Must beg the countenance of Christ
on the ground that He had taught
as a component element of His
Doctrine the unity of the Human
family. But if the doctrine ^{taught by} of
Christ of the Universal Brotherhood
of man is found to be a true &
authoritative sanction of Ethics,
it surely is demanded of all who

to recognize it to remember that
He taught it as the necessary com-
-plement of the entire fact of our
Universal Fatherhood. Neither
was it too much to expect men
of John Stuart Mill to recognize
in our ~~whole~~ ~~anticipation~~ pre-
-stalled in his doctrine teaching
sums up all ethics bases without
supercedes the Ethics of all time
One whom he could believe when
He declared to men that He taught

them only that which He had
received from His Father.

And after all no system
of Philosophy, no view of man's
relations to the universe has ever
yet devised which has not built
on some conception of the ~~divine~~
ground of all existence, either
as the cause or the consummation
of all things. Positivists talk
of the ^{subjective, subjective & the} Absolute Man & Mr.
Matthew Arnold of "That Stream"

of tendency by which all things
strive to fulfil the law of their
being"; or as he has lately said
it "The power not ourselves which
makes for righteousness." But what
is gained by all these circum-
locutions? Are the repeaters of
them any nearer to absolute
truth. ^{that} Those who are content
to say "from everlasting to ever-
lasting how art God"? Which
ever way man turns himself.

He is followed, he is met, he is limited
by - The ought - & The must,
& in the presence of this recurring
fact it is surely the first step
to knowledge & to certainty to
accept that irrepressible - ought -
as a witness that he is not a
~~void~~ void upon a formless
infinity of space, but a being
patched with red & blood.

Every system of Philosophy
which ignores the ought - must

it is trapped by its own investiga-
tions into an acknowledgment
of its presence, fails over & across
to cover facts which it is called
upon to consider; & every theory
of human life propounded as
a foundation for an Ethical or
Political Philosophy must cover
all the facts of human his-
tory before it can recommend
itself to the investigating in-
telligence of men. But surely,

The Hypothesis of Materialism
Does not cover the facts of the
human affections & all that
constitutes the synthesis of the
human ego — of that Ego
which unites & directs all the
faculties & functions of the
human organism. Analysis
may distinguishingly separate
& classify those functions, but
there remains beyond the reach
of all analysis the inscrutable

duty to assist in the universal
progress constitute the one true
sanction for that line of conduct
which aids the achievement of the
collective aim to which the race is
called.

Utilitarianism. I have
said makes of the individual
the centre of its system. ~~With~~ ~~and~~
~~indeed~~ endeavours it is true, to
impress upon his readers the ne-
cessity of always recognising them-
selves as the members of a body

unifier & director of them all.
Materialism or Positivism pro-
-fesses to embrace only phenomena
but at the same time all phe-
-nomena. But what explanation
does it offer us of such phenomena
as consciousness, choice, determi-
nation manifested every day by
each of us? Are we ready to
believe that the conceptions, the
sympathies, & creations of Shakes-
-peare - of Milton - or of Dante

are so many manifestations of
Phosphorus? But the theory of
human life & human destiny,
which accepts a purposing &
sympathizing Creator, as the
explanation of man's presence
on the earth & sees in the law
of progress prepared to human
life a witness of that truth
— That theory embraces all the
facts which Positivism fails
to harmonize with its assertions

& Menials & ^{affords} ~~gives~~ to men, whether
contemplating the past, the pre-
sent or the future consolation,
hope & guidance, because it tells
them that from the disappoint-
ments, the mistakes, & humiliations
of their present life, an Eternal
God is their refuge & that un-
derneath them there are at all
times everlasting Arms.